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THOMAS CARLYLE'S GOETHE MASK REVISITED

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ABSTRACT

Thomas Carlyle's copy of a life mask of Goethe is one of the most significant Goethe masks outside of Germany, particularly because it is a testimony to Carlyle's role in developing strong cultural relations between Scotland and Germany in the nineteenth century, and because of his close connections with Goethe and Weimar. However, Carlyle scholars have always thought his Goethe mask was a death mask, since he states this in his letters, despite the fact that no death mask of Goethe was ever made. This essay documents the wider context of the making of the original life mask of Goethe in Weimar, and its links to Franz Joseph Gall's popularization of the science cranioscopy in Germany, 1805-1807. It also gives an account of how Carlyle acquired the mask, and what happened to it after his death. Older research on Carlyle's Goethe mask maintained that it had been lost and rediscovered in the 1980s; this article offers new evidence that its whereabouts have always been known. It also reveals that after Carlyle, it was owned by the Scottish professors David Masson and Peter Hume Brown, both of whom contributed to the transfer of knowledge of Goethe's life and works to Britain.

Eine der wichtigsten Kopien der Lebendmaske von Goethe außerhalb Deutschlands gehörte Thomas Carlyle. Sie ist ein Zeugnis der bedeutenden Rolle Carlyles in der Entwicklung des kulturellen Austausches zwischen Schottland und Deutschland im neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Obwohl es nie eine Todesmaske von Goethe gegeben hat, haben Carlyle Forscher jedoch immer behauptet, sie sei eine Todesmaske, hauptsächlich weil sie Carlyle in seinen Briefen so beschrieben hat. In diesem Aufsatz wird der historische Kontext um die Herstellung der ursprünglichen Lebendmaske Goethes in Weimar besprochen und ihre Verbindung zu Franz Joseph Galls Popularisierung der Wissenschaft Kranioskopie in Deutschland zwischen 1805 und 1807 erläutert. Im Folgenden wird darüber berichtet, wie Carlyle zu der Maske gekommen und was nach seinem Tod genau mit ihr passiert ist, da man bis zu den 1980igern Carlyles Goethe Maske für verschollen hielt. Neue Beweismittel belegen, dass der Aufenthaltsort der Maske bis heute immer bekannt war und dass sie nach Carlyles Ableben von den schottischen Professoren David Masson und Peter Hume Brown geerbt wurde. Sowohl Masson als auch Hume Brown trugen entscheidend zum Wissenstransfer über Goethes Leben und Werke nach Großbritannien bei.

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Little is documented about the location of the reproductions of the life mask of Goethe made by the Weimar court sculptor Karl Gottlob Weisser in 1807 that were bought and sent outside of Germany. While Michael Hertl's book *Goethe in seiner Lebendmaske* (2008) refers to the whereabouts of many copies of the mask that are in Germany and Austria, he only refers to two examples of masks currently located abroad, which are part of the Laurence Hutton Collection at Princeton University.¹ Similarly, Călin Alexandru Mihai's book, *Johann Peter Kaufmann und die spätklassizistische Skulptur am Weimarer Hof* (2004), has also carefully accounted for the reproductions of Weisser's Goethe mask and the bust based on it, which are in museums and institutes in the German-speaking world, but likewise avoids the issue of tracking down the masks and busts in other countries, which could be equally historically significant and indications of their owner's close connections to Goethe and Weimar.² In addition to the two masks overseas that Hertl mentions, there is also a varnished untreated Goethe life mask at the Leo Baeck Institute in New York³ and in the Bibliothèque nationale de France, there are photographs of an untreated Goethe mask⁴ and of a copy of Johann Peter Kaufmann's plaster cast of Goethe's right hand, taken in 1932 to commemorate Goethe's death.⁵ Another mask is documented in the book *Souvenirs littéraires* by the French poet and Goethe translator, Edouard Grenier, who refers to owning what he mistakenly believed to be a death mask of Goethe.⁶ Above all, perhaps one of the most significant Goethe masks outside of Germany belonged to Thomas Carlyle, and is currently in the Special Collections of the University of Edinburgh Library. It is particularly notable because it is a testimony to Carlyle's role in developing the strong cultural relations between Scotland and

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Germany in the nineteenth century, and because of his close connections with Goethe and Eckermann.

The main concern of this article is to reconstruct the history of Thomas Carlyle's Goethe mask because Goethe scholars in the German-speaking world do not seem to be aware of its existence and because so far Carlyle scholars have incorrectly considered it to be a death mask. This misunderstanding arose because Carlyle, like Grenier, assumed that the mask was made after Goethe's death.⁷ It is therefore important to present the evidence that the mask is a version of Weisser's life mask, and that no death mask of Goethe was ever made. Furthermore, this article will also trace the history of the ownership of the mask after Carlyle's death, revealing that before the University of Edinburgh acquired it in 1918, it had not only been owned by Prof. David Masson, which is known, but also by Prof. Peter Hume Brown, which is not widely known. This new evidence of Peter Hume Brown's ownership of Carlyle's mask proves that it has been in the possession of three Scottish literary biographers and scholars of Goethe: Carlyle, Masson and Hume Brown. Thus, uncovering the history of the ownership of the mask after Carlyle's death reveals that it was bequeathed to two University of Edinburgh professors who continued Carlyle's intense engagement with Goethe's works.

THE CONTEXT OF CRANIOSCOPY/PHRENOLOGY: FRANZ JOSEPH GALL (1758-1828)

The idea of making a life mask of Goethe's face came from the founder of cranioscopy, the German anatomist Franz Joseph Gall. Gall trained and practiced medicine in Vienna, where he pioneered the principles of cranioscopy, later known as

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phrenology. This new science aimed primarily at identifying and locating human characteristics in the brain by analysing its anatomy. Most importantly, Gall established 27 regions in the brain with specific functions, and proposed that the shape of the brain revealed insights into human nature, intellectual ability and the morality of an individual.⁸ In his public lectures, Gall used his extensive skull and life and death mask collection to demonstrate that the brain's shape determined the form of the scalp and the skull, concluding that an analysis of the head gave insights into how the mind worked. However, by 1801 the lectures were attracting too much attention in the Austrian Empire, and were outlawed by Kaiser Franz II, who condemned them as immoral, materialistic, and against religious principles.⁹ The royal decree stated: 'über diese Kopflehre, von welcher mit Enthusiasmus gesprochen werde, vielleicht manche ihren eignen Kopf verlieren dürften'.¹⁰ Eventually, Gall left Vienna in 1805 with his associate Johann Kaspar Spurzheim to conduct a lecture tour in Europe that promoted and demonstrated the practice of cranioscopy.¹¹

Biographical sketches about Gall document his lecture tour in Germany in 1805, which extended to other European countries, such as Denmark, Holland and Switzerland, and ended in Paris on 30 October 1807, where he settled for the remainder of his life.¹² It was during this tour of Germany that Goethe and Gall met, firstly in Halle in July 1805, where Gall was lecturing and giving anatomical demonstrations from 7 to 28 July.¹³ Goethe had come to Halle to visit the philologist Friedrich August Wolf, and attended his lectures, and those of the natural philosopher Henrik Steffens.¹⁴ Both Wolf and Steffens accompanied Goethe to Gall's lectures on comparative anatomy, held in the large salon of a public guesthouse. In his autobiography, *Was ich erlebte*, Steffens recounts hearing one of Gall's lectures in

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Halle with Goethe present, in which he compared the skulls of thieves to those of magpies and ravens, and the skulls of murderers with tigers and lions.¹⁵ Steffens describes how Gall demonstrated his theories using the heads of the members of the audience as examples, and when speaking about skulls that have beautiful symmetry, directed the audience's attention to Goethe's head. Paradoxically, the asymmetry of Goethe's face has been the focus of much discussion and analysis in studies of Goethe's appearance.¹⁶ The entire auditorium turned to look at Goethe who remained calm, but a brief hint of displeasure appeared on his face, followed by a suppressed ironic smile.¹⁷ The poet Eichendorff, who was studying under Wolf, Steffens and Schleiermacher at the time, also attended Gall's Halle lectures, reporting in his diary on 8 July 1805 that they learned about the physiognomy of Goethe, 'und die Art seines Umganges, die wir jedesmal nach geendigter Vorlesung auch beobachten konnten'.¹⁸ In spite of the enthusiastic reaction to Gall's lectures, Steffens was nevertheless sceptical about the idea of restricting the analysis to the head. After Gall had left Halle, Steffens invited the same audience to attend his own follow-up lectures and demonstrated the weaknesses in Gall's theory. In particular, Steffens thought it better to focus on the parts of the body that carry out the crimes or acts of genius, such as the hands of murderers, thieves and writers. Furthermore, he argued that the gait, posture and deportment were better indicators of human characteristics than head shape.¹⁹

Whilst Gall was in Halle, he tutored Goethe privately because an illness prevented him from hearing the whole series of lectures.²⁰ This gave them the opportunity to discuss their ideas, and discover that they held similar views.²¹ In particular, Goethe hoped to discover more about the brain from the perspective of a

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comparative anatomist, and was interested in the relationship between the spinal cord and the sensory pathways in the brains of humans and animals.²² In addition to his lectures, Gall performed dissections of brains to a small circle of people, which Goethe also attended.²³ In a letter to Johann Andreas Streicher in Vienna, dated 15 October 1805, Gall recalled that Goethe had often confirmed his theories by using his own examples, and reacted favourably towards his comments on the characteristics of the spirit.²⁴ Goethe also heard Gall lecture in Jena and Weimar after the lecture series in Halle, and they met again in 1807 at the end of the European tour.²⁵ Shortly before this meeting, however, Gall wrote to Friedrich Justin Bertuch on 23 September 1807, complaining that he felt he was becoming a public laughing stock because he had still not managed to take a life mask of Goethe. Asking for Bertuch's help in the matter, he wrote: 'Wenn Goethe da ist, so beschwören Sie ihn doch, daß er mir seinen prächtigen, herrlichen Kopf abdrücken läßt. Alle Welt lacht mich aus, daß ich ihn nicht habe; ich will recht sanft mit ihm umgehen.'²⁶ By October 1807, Goethe had agreed to have the life mask made, for Gall's sake.

In his analysis of Goethe's head, Gall unexpectedly called him a natural orator, which is recounted by Goethe in volume 10 of *Dichtung und Wahrheit*.²⁷ But if we compare Gall's early evaluations of Goethe's head with his later comments, it is noticeable that his comparisons between Goethe and Jupiter and Apollo, are the central focus. In the letter to Streicher on 15 October 1805, Gall wrote: 'Es ist aber auch wahr, Göthes Kopf ist ein göttlicher Kopf, was es vorragt, wie edel es sich hinwölbt, wie sichs zum Bilde eines Jupiter eignet.'²⁸ Years later in 1827, Gall remembered the Goethe of 1806 as having the head of Apollo.²⁹ The Apollo/Jupiter image was of utmost importance for Gall, and when in 1827 he was finally sent a

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copy of a bust of Goethe, supposedly based on the life mask, he wrote to Streicher, on 24 April 1827 that he was alarmed that he could not detect the Apolline features in Goethe's face. Gall was disappointed that the bust was not an exact likeness, and suspected that the sculptor had altered the characteristics and dimensions of the cast of the life mask used to make the bust:

Damahls war er ein wahrer Apollo, Augen wie ein Gott, eine Stirn, die mich bezauberte und das Organ des Scharfsinnes, wie ich es noch nirgends gesehen habe. Nun ist alles um vieles zurückgeschwunden. Es geht mit unserm Gehirn, wie mit den Brüsten der Weiber und wenn's einmahl zum Lumpen wird, so hat Kraft und Grazie ein Ende.³⁰

The reduction of the dimensions of Goethe's head and the lessening of the elements of the divine and also the sublime in Goethe's face that Gall observed in this example of the sculptured mask as a bust caused Gall to press for a full death mask of Goethe's shaved head when the time came.³¹ In a letter to Franz Brentano, the brother of Clemens and Bettina Brentano, on 7 May 1827, Gall was worried that he would not live to see the death mask and assess it himself.³² Evidently, the partial life mask had not been enough for Gall, whereas the cast of Goethe's shaved head could have become a full confirmation of his cranioscopical theories, and was the next prize for his collection.

References to Jupiter and Apollo in relation to Goethe's physiognomy recurred frequently in written statements about his appearance, and highlighted his Olympian status. Silke Heckenbücker's study, *Prometheus, Apollo, Zeus/Jupiter – Goethe-Bilder von 1773 bis 1885* (2008), traces the development of the depiction of Goethe as an Olympian in fiction and in critical studies, citing as examples the use of the phrase the 'Jupiter von Weimar' in Thomas Mann's essay, 'Goethe und Tolstoi'

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and Arno Holz's *Die letzten Zehn*, and Heinrich Heine's comic portrayal of Goethe as a German Jupiter in the *Romantische Schule*.³³ In addition to the references Heckenbücker lists, we can also add Fouqué's remark in *Goethe und Einer seiner Bewunderer*, on the occasion of his visit to Goethe's house in October 1813:

Unversehens ging die Zimmerthür leise auf, und hervor blickte das noch ganz unvergeßne Apollo-Antlitz, apollonischer noch, weil in häuslicher Bequemlichkeit die Halsbinde fortgeblieben war, und so die Heroen-Physiognomie sich noch idealer hervorhob.³⁴

Fouqué engages here in an assessment of Goethe's face that echoes Gall's, and maintains the perspective of a lesser mortal witnessing the unforgettable sight of Apollo. In using the spectacle of Goethe in person at his lectures in Halle, Gall gave a practical demonstration that Goethe's head was an example of the divine and Olympian physiognomy. Since this could only be confirmed with measurements and more analysis, Gall must have prized the life mask of Goethe as a most significant trophy.

MAKING THE ORIGINAL GOETHE LIFE MASK: KARL GOTTLÖB WEISSER (1779-1815)

The life mask of Goethe was made on 13 October 1807.³⁵ It was prepared by Karl Gottlob Weisser, who was appointed as Weimar court sculptor on 12 May, 1807.³⁶ Weisser was not an experienced mask maker at the time of making Goethe's mask, however, it came to be his main type of commission.³⁷ Like Friedrich Tieck, Weisser had trained as an apprentice under the Berlin sculptor Sigismund Bettkofer, and

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moved to Weimar in 1802 to assist Tieck with his work on the Weimarer Schloß.³⁸ Before his appointment at the court, Weisser had already begun to establish himself as a sculptor with a bust of Schiller in 1806, based on Ludwig Klauer's death mask of Schiller, who died on 9 May 1805.³⁹ Weisser also made the death mask of Duchess Anna Amalia, who died on 10 April 1807, and modelled a bust of her on it.⁴⁰ As with Goethe's life mask, Gall had been the initiator of Schiller's death mask, and shaved Schiller's head, preserving his body for this purpose.⁴¹ Gall was also behind Klauer's life mask of Wieland, made in 1806, and a death mask of Wieland, taken in 1813.⁴² Although death masks exist of Schiller and Wieland, only sketches of Goethe were produced after his demise; these were drawn by Friedrich Preller and Heinrich Matthaey.⁴³ One reason for the absence of a Goethe death mask appears to be his dislike of death masks; not only had he refused to see Schiller and Wieland after they had died, he did not even wish to see Wieland's death mask, commenting that he thought that death was a bad portrait painter. His concern was that the death mask would supplant his memory of Wieland's face:

Warum [...] soll ich mir die lieblichen Eindrücke von den Gesichtszügen meiner Freunde und Freundinnen durch die Entstellungen einer Maske zerstören lassen? Es wird ja dadurch etwas Fremdartiges, ja völlig Unwahres meiner Einbildungskraft aufgedrungen. Ich habe mich wohl in acht genommen, weder Herder, Schiller, noch die verwittwete Frau Herzogin Amalia im Sarge zu sehen. Der Tod ist ein sehr mittelmäßiger Porträtmaler. Ich meinerseits will ein seelenvolleres Bild, als seine Masken, von meinen sämtlichen Freunden im Gedächtnis aufbewahren. Also bitte ich es Euch, wenn es dahin kommen sollte, auch einmal mit mir zu halten.⁴⁴

Apart from Goethe's wish not to have a death mask made, another reason for the lack of a death mask of Goethe is that the office of court sculptor at the Weimar court was

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not occupied at the time of Goethe's death.⁴⁵ After Weisser's suicide on 2 April 1815, Johann Peter Kaufmann became the court sculptor in Weimar in 1817.⁴⁶ However, Kaufmann did not continue the practice of face masks, making instead a cast of Goethe's right hand, which like the life mask was reproduced as a souvenir.⁴⁷ When Kaufmann died before Goethe in 1829, the position of court sculptor was discontinued.⁴⁸

In the light of Weisser's inexperience in making life masks in 1807, it is very likely that the process of making Goethe's mask was carried out in consultation with Gall, since he had overseen Klauer's death mask of Schiller and the life mask of Wieland.⁴⁹ The strongest evidence that Gall was consulted about the making of Goethe's life mask can be found in the diary of Friedrich Wilhelm Riemer, written during the years 1807 to 1810. Riemer was tutor to Goethe's son August, and Goethe's secretary, Eckermann's predecessor. Riemer's diary records that Gall visited Goethe on 13 October 1807, the day the mask was made.⁵⁰ The diary also documents that Riemer accompanied Goethe to Weisser's atelier on a number of occasions when Goethe sat for the work on the bust that was formed from the mask:

13. Oktober. Früh zu Goethe. [...] Bekam er Besuch von Dr. Stieglitz und Frau, und Dr. Gall. Abends die Sänger und Gall. Goethe ließ sich abformen von Weißer für Gall.

19. Oktober. Um 4 Uhr mit Goethe zu Weißern, der seine Büste machte.

21. Oktober. Um 4 Uhr mit Goethe zu Weißer.

22. Oktober. Im Park spazieren, traf ich Goethe am römischen Hause sitzend an. Über seine Büste; Meyer hätte gesagt, sie sei so ähnlich, daß sie unähnlich werde.⁵¹

Goethe's diary, on the other hand, is less specific on the date the life mask was made, confirming only that it had already been made a few days before 16 October 1807.⁵²

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Referring to the making of the bust, Goethe noted sessions with Weisser on 19 October 1807 at 4pm, then daily from 21 to 23 October.⁵³ The last recorded meeting with Gall was on 16 October, and also mentions Spurzheim's presence:

Nachher Dr. Gall und Sporzheim. Zu Tische Deny und Sophie Teller. Dr. Gall kam nach Tische wieder, wo wir über seine Lehre bis gegen Abend sprachen; da ich mich für ihn abgießen ließ. Kleines Concert.⁵⁴

There is only anecdotal evidence of Goethe's reaction to the process of making the mask. In a conversation with Goethe's secretary, Theodor Kräuter, who remarked on the serious expression on Goethe's face, Goethe is reported to have responded: 'Es ist keine Kleinigkeit, sich solchen nassen Dreck ins Gesicht schmieren zu lassen.'⁵⁵ Likewise, Adolf Stahr, who visited Kräuter in July 1851, quotes a similar comment that Goethe is supposed to have made: 'Meinen Sie denn daß es ein Spaß ist, sich das nasse Zeug in's Gesicht streichen zu lassen, ohne eine Miene zu verziehen? Da ist's eine Kunst nicht noch viel unwirscher auszusehen!'⁵⁶ Furthermore, Stahr noted that Kräuter explained to him that Goethe had had the mask made in order to help a young struggling artist, meaning Weisser.⁵⁷ Indeed, the reproductions of the mask and bust would have provided an additional income for Weisser, who had few commissions.

In his book *Goethe in seiner Lebendmaske*, Michael Hertl describes the uncomfortable process of making a life mask that Goethe would have undergone: the live subject's hair is covered with a scarf, and silk paper is placed over the eyes for protection.⁵⁸ Hertl states that it was likely that a piece of string was put on top of the first coating of plaster in a vertical position in the centre of the face to assist with removing the mask in two halves at the end of the process.⁵⁹ The two halves would be

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pasted together instantly after removing them.⁶⁰ The hollow cast was of the face and forehead, without the back of the head, and showed the detail of the skin's pores and the crinkled effect of the paper over the eyes.⁶¹ The sculptor's task was to smooth the imprint of the silk paper covering the eyes, to add the eyes, and more definition around the nostrils and lips. Hertl comments that the more well-defined the skin pores are, the closer the copy is to the original mask, since this kind of detail is lost when copies are made.⁶² The variations of the mask either show the imprint of the head scarf and paper over the eyes, or are replicas of a later stage in the process, when the hair and ears were added.⁶³ When Weisser made the bust, he used the life mask as a mould and transferred a copy of the cast of the face to a torso or pedestal. The bust is of the whole head, with added hair, eyes and ears, and a torso, which was extended to different lengths. The first version of the bust was completed in 1808, and Goethe and Riemer recorded viewing it on 27 February 1809.⁶⁴

With the help of Friedrich Justin Bertuch and the Landes Industrie Comptoir, Weisser turned the reproduction of the mask and bust into a commercial enterprise.⁶⁵ Hermann Rollett reports that even in 1881, plaster copies of Weisser's life mask and bust were sold as souvenirs in Schiller's house in Weimar.⁶⁶ He states that they could be ordered from J. Scheibe's plaster figure shop in Weimar for 3M.50 Pf and that the Meissen porcelain factory also produced two copies of Weisser's bust in biscuit.⁶⁷

Despite the frequent reproduction of Weisser's mask and bust, some copies remain culturally important, for example the copy that Goethe gave to Frau von Stein, which was eventually acquired by the Goethe National Museum in Weimar.⁶⁸ Jacob Grimm's Goethe bust was owned by Dr. Hermann Grimm of Berlin in the 1880s. The anatomist Samuel Thomas Soemmering received a Goethe bust, which is now kept in

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the Frankfurt Goethe Museum.⁶⁹ Johann Georg Keil's Goethe mask went to Dr. Anton Kippenberg, which is currently in the Goethe Museum in Düsseldorf.⁷⁰

Apart from Gall, the phrenologist and medical doctor Carl Gustav Carus showed an interest in Weisser's life mask of Goethe. While Hertl draws attention to Carus's regret that he could not acquire an example of it for an analysis of Goethe in the first edition of his *Atlas der Kranioskopie* (1843-1845), Hertl nevertheless overlooks the drawing of Weisser's mask and Carus's analysis in the second edition, *Neuer Atlas der Cranioskopie* (1864).⁷¹ Here, Carus first emphasises that no death mask of Goethe existed, and that only one life mask of Goethe was made, in his late fifties.⁷² In his analysis of the mask, Carus reported that Goethe's head showed less of a propensity for analytical thought than he had observed in Schiller's skull, and focuses mainly on aspects of beauty in Goethe's face, whilst cross-referencing his own analysis of Goethe's forehead in the second edition of the *Symbolik der menschlichen Gestalt* (1858).⁷³

ACQUIRING A COPY OF THE GOETHE LIFE MASK: THOMAS CARLYLE (1795-1881)

Thomas Carlyle began corresponding with Goethe on 24 June 1824, sending him a copy of his three volume translation of *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*.⁷⁴ An initial focus of the letters was Carlyle's biography, the *Life of Schiller*, first published in the *London Magazine* 1823-24, and later in book form in 1825. It was the first full-length study in English of the life and works of any German writer.⁷⁵ On the occasion of its

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publication in the German language in 1830, Goethe wrote a short introduction for it, addressed to the Gesellschaft für ausländische Literatur in Berlin. Carlyle was later appointed a member of this society. Goethe's introduction to Carlyle's Schiller biography included some correspondence with Carlyle about the importance of an appreciation of Robert Burns's work, and a German translation of extracts from Lockhart's *Life of Burns*.⁷⁶ Goethe used Burns here as a touchstone for a discussion of cultural bridging between Britain and Germany, and drew attention to the need to bring Burns to the Germans as Carlyle had brought Schiller to the British readership. The translation of Burns was not to be realised in any substantial form until 1838, with Ferdinand Freiligrath's volume of translations of Burns's songs, swiftly followed by Philipp Kaufmann (1839), Wilhelm Gerhard (1840) and Julius Heintze (1840); the latter was reviewed positively by Carlyle in *The Examiner* (24 Sept 1840).⁷⁷

The extent of Carlyle's hero worship of Goethe can be summed up in his letter to Miss Welsh on 6th April 1823, where he writes: 'I think Goethe the only loving model of a great writer. [...] It is one of my finest day-dreams to see him ere I die.'⁷⁸ Later in 1840, Carlyle described Goethe as 'an ancient Hero, in the guise of a most modern, high-bred, high-cultivated Man of Letters' in his collection of lectures *On Heroes and Hero-Worship* (1840).⁷⁹ Goethe's position on Carlyle is documented in his conversations with Johann Peter Eckermann on 11 October 1828, where he acknowledged Carlyle's service to the understanding of German literature: 'Er ist in unserer Literatur fast besser zu Hause als wir selbst; zum wenigsten können wir mit ihm in unsern Bemühungen um das Englische nicht wetteifern.'⁸⁰

Carlyle and Goethe never met; thus in 1844, the gift of a true likeness of the poet in the form of a life mask symbolically recaptured the lost opportunity of seeing

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Goethe in person. A letter from Carlyle to Jane Stirling on 22 December 1844, documents that Mrs Mary Rich had delivered the unexpected gift of a Goethe mask to his house, and that it had been sent by the Dutch artist Ary Scheffer (1795-1858). Scheffer lived and worked in Paris, and became known for his paintings of characters from Goethe's works, such as Mignon, Faust and Gretchen.⁸¹ Carlyle wrote:

Some days ago Mrs Rich surprised us here with a Gift from M. Scheffer the Painter; a mask of the face of Goethe; which, in all ways, has gratified us much. By far the liveliest emblem I ever had of the man Goethe. This then is the face I longed most of all to see; this;—and *it* is all vanished now, and gone into Eternity; nothing remains of it but this dumb lump of lime! There is something very sad and yet very precious to me in this Gift.⁸²

The recipient of the letter, Jane Stirling, was well acquainted with Scheffer, who had sketched her portrait in June 1844; she also sat for his famous painting, 'Christus Consolator'.⁸³ Stirling was a gifted pianist and protégée of Chopin, who was also painted by Scheffer on several occasions.

Carlyle knew very little about the mask, as is indicated by his letter of 22 December 1844 to Lady Harriet Baring, where he refers to it as a death mask:

But in regard to German let me tell you of a small godsend that came to me the other day. It is a Mask of Goethe's Face; taken after death, they say; but they have altered the lips and eyes so that it looks like life;—and is indeed the liveliest representation of the man to me that I have ever yet seen. One Scheffer a Paris Painter sent it, whom I had not personally known before. The Duke of Weimar, it seems, sent a copy to Scheffer, and Scheffer made this for me. Many thanks to him. I look with an indescribable feeling into this actual facsimile of the face of a man that was so important to me. Thus was it; thus is it not no more;—it has vanished away again, there remains nothing of it but this dumb lump of lime! We are such stuff as Dreams are made of. We need not go to Mesmerism for miracles!— I hope you will like this face of Goethe; and

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call it with me a King's face. “*Voilà un homme qui a eu beaucoup de chagrins* [There is a man who has had many sorrows],” said the Frenchman on looking at it. Not properly chagrin, said Goethe, but hard work as he went along.⁸⁴

The letter indicates that Carlyle regarded it as a sculptured death mask, although he focuses on the element of life as the most important aspect of this true likeness. Quoting in French Napoléon's famous phrase on meeting Goethe in Erfurt in 1808, ‘*Voilà un homme*’, Carlyle recalls a statement he made in his essay on Goethe in 1828, where he attributed this sentence to a French diplomat, present at the meeting between Goethe and Napoléon.⁸⁵ Despite Carlyle's incorrect assumption, his Goethe mask is in fact a copy of the sculpted Weisser mask, and its close links to Weimar are also noted in this letter, since it was supposedly sent to Scheffer by Karl Friedrich, the Grand Duke of Saxe Weimar (1783-1853). If Carlyle's Goethe mask was indeed a reproduction made by Scheffer, as Carlyle reported, then it is one of the very rare examples of his sculpture work.⁸⁶ Scheffer was a talented sculptor, but rarely produced statues and busts. The most notable example of his sculptures was a life-size marble statue of his mother in a state of repose, which he made after her death. He had it placed on a bed in his studio, obscured behind a curtain, and viewed it in private daily.⁸⁷

Carlyle was not the only one to have received such a gift from Scheffer, or to mistake the death mask for a life mask. In the epilogue to his literary reminiscences *Souvenirs littéraires*, the French poet Edouard Grenier reports having received copies of the “death masks” of Goethe and Mirabeau from Scheffer.⁸⁸ Grenier was interested in Goethe's writing and published a French translation of *Reineke Fuchs* in 1858.⁸⁹ The evidence of a second mask reveals that it was likely that Scheffer himself thought

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it was a death mask and misinformed Carlyle. We can also conclude that Scheffer was either sent a number of copies from Weimar, which he passed on to Carlyle and Grenier, or he made some reproductions, or had some made as gifts.

While the letters from Scheffer to Carlyle have not yet been located, Carlyle's reply to Scheffer exists, and is dated 23 December 1844:

Mrs Rich delivered me the Mask of Goethe which you were so very kind as send me by her. I have fixed it advantageously on one of my Bookshelves, where daily, for a long while I hope, it will remind me in a beneficent manner of you and of him. Many thanks are due from me. This is, of all the portraits, medals &c which I have seen of Goethe, by far the most eloquent representation of him to me: a strange shadow of the very face itself, as it looked and lived in this world; a veritable fragment of the Past Appearances (to me the most important of them all for some centuries), strangely surviving here, now when they are gone, all melted into Formlessness again, into the Still Sea again! It is very tragic, very significant to me.

I return you many thanks; all the more grateful as I have not yet the happiness of being personally known to you. Your great Art with all its resources could hardly have furnished me a more interesting Product than this very simple one. For one does ask of your Art this fundamental question: How did great Men, and great Phenomena which we have never seen, look? This answered, if it ever could be completely answered, all were answered that the Plastic Artist has in charge. Your Gift is very valuable, and greatly enhanced by the kindness of your procedure to me in respect of it.

If you ever come to England I shall bespeak the pleasure of making acquaintance with you; as certainly, if I ever come again to Paris, I will not fail to go in quest of one so favourably shadowed forth to me in this and in many more important ways.

A benevolent Lady Madame Baudrand is a friend of yours; to whom I will desire you to offer my regards.

Wishing you right good speed in your noble enterprises, "*Ohne Hast aber ohne Rast* [Without haste yet without rest]":—

I remain, / Most sincerely Yours / T. Carlyle⁹⁰

Carlyle commented on the Goethe mask on another occasion, in a letter to Charles Redwood, dated 31 December 1844, stating that it,

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gives me a strange lively impression of what the man veritably was;—and is very affecting to me when I look earnestly on it. I should have so liked to see the living face of the one man whom I did reverence in my generation; and this, strange living-dead thing, is all I get of it.⁹¹

After Goethe's death, Carlyle continued to correspond with Eckermann, but did not write to him about the mask until 31 May 1845. His use of the reference to the Olympian of Weimar ironically echoes Gall's and other comments of the era:

I got a mask of Goethe's Face from Scheffer at Paris: I could almost have wept at sight of it. At night, when the lights are beneath it, it looks out on me like the face of an Olympian, saying silently, "*Heran* [Come hither]!"⁹²

Carlyle never knew for sure that the mask was indeed a life mask, he did however know from reading Goethe's autobiography *Dichtung und Wahrheit* (Volume 10), that Gall had diagnosed Goethe as a gifted orator, referring to it in his essay on 'Goethe's Works' in the *Foreign Quarterly Review*:

Gall the Craniologist declared him to be a born *Volksredner*, (popular orator,) both by the figure of his brow, and what was still more decisive, because 'he could not speak but a figure came.' Gall saw what was high as his own nose reached,

'High as the nose doth reach, all clear!
What higher lies, they ask: Is it here?'"⁹³

THE OWNER OF THE MASK FROM 1881 TO 1907: DAVID MATHER MASSON (1822-1907)

In his research on the Carlyle letters in the Yale William A. Speck Collection of Goetheana in 1943, Carl F. Schreiber discovered an unpublished letter from Carlyle to

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an unknown addressee (we now know this to be Ary Scheffer), dated 23 December 1844, which gave an indication of when Carlyle received the mask. Schreiber was not entirely convinced, however, that it was a death mask, but did not have enough sources to disprove this because he had not located the mask and seen it for himself. Drawing on Schulte-Strathaus's research in *Die Bildnisse Goethes* (1810), Schreiber deduced that Carlyle's Goethe mask was either a copy of Weisser's (1807) or Johann Gottfried Schadow's (1816) life masks. The life masks attributed to Schadow have since been verified as copies of Weisser's. Hertl concludes that only Weisser's mask is still in existence, and finds it unlikely that Schadow made a new life mask of Goethe in 1816.⁹⁴ In order to find the location of Carlyle's Goethe mask, Schreiber looked at the catalogue of Carlyle's belongings auctioned by Sotheby's in 1932, and found it was missing from the list. He then consulted an earlier inventory of the contents of Carlyle's Chelsea home at 24 Cheyne Row in London, taken by Mrs Allingham in 1881. Mrs Allingham had noted that the Goethe mask was hanging next to a mask of Schiller, and that it had been given to Professor Masson.⁹⁵

David Mather Masson was the Professor of Rhetoric and English Literature at the University of Edinburgh from 1865 to 1895, and inherited the mask on Carlyle's death.⁹⁶ Masson, a close friend of Carlyle's, was a Milton and De Quincey specialist and a literary biographer. He also wrote books on the history of Ancient Greece and Rome, Medieval History, and the English Romantics. After moving to London in 1847, Masson frequented the Carlyle and John Stuart Mill circles. Since all the evidence pointed to Masson as the owner of the mask after Carlyle, Schreiber decided to look for references to it in Masson's published work. Masson published many articles in periodicals, some of which revealed his interest in Goethe, such as his essay

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in *Fraser's Magazine* in December 1844, which compared and contrasted Luther's, Milton's, and Goethe's characterisations of the devil.⁹⁷ Although Schreiber found references to the Goethe mask in Masson's essay on 'Shakespeare and Goethe', which was published in the 1874 collection of essays called *The Three Devils: Luther's, Milton's, and Goethe's*, he did not, however, discover that there are earlier versions of this essay; the earliest was published anonymously in the *British Quarterly Review* in 1852.⁹⁸ In fact, the dictionary of *Nineteenth-Century British Literary Biographers* has not yet attributed the second anonymous publication of this essay to Masson, which is in *Littell's Living Age* (1853), nor has it mentioned the reprint of the essay in Masson's *Essays Biographical and Critical: Chiefly on English Poets* (1856).⁹⁹ These earlier references to the mask mean that Masson first documented his knowledge of Carlyle's Goethe mask in 1852 rather than 1874. In the 'Shakespeare and Goethe' essay, Masson repeatedly describes the important place that the portraits of Shakespeare and Goethe should take in the drawing room of 'those whose tastes are regulated by the highest literary culture'.¹⁰⁰ In 1852, Masson wrote:

On the one side, we will suppose, fixed with due elegance against the luxurious crimson of the wall, would be a slab of black marble exhibiting in relief a white plaster cast of the face of Shakespeare as modelled from the Stratford bust; on the other, in a similar setting, would be a copy, if possible, of the mask of Goethe taken at Weimar after the poet's death. This would suffice, and the considerate beholder could find no fault with such an arrangement.¹⁰¹

Here, Masson makes a point of referring to a Goethe death mask, as Carlyle does, and describes the physiognomy of it in great detail:

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Goethe's face is different. The whole size of the head is perhaps less, but the proportion of the face to the head is greater, and there is more of that determinate form which arises from prominence and strength in the bony structure. The features are individually larger, and present in their combination more of that deliberate beauty of outline which can be conveyed with effect in sculpture. The expression, however, is also that of calm intellectual repose; and in the absence of harshness or undue concentration of the parts, one is at liberty to discover the proof that this also was the face of a man whose life was spent rather in a career of thought and literary effort than in a career of active and laborious strife. Yet the face, with all its power of fine susceptibility, is not so passive as that of Shakespeare. Its passiveness is more the passiveness of self-control, and less that of innate constitution; the susceptibilities pass and re-pass over a firmer basis of permanent character; the tremors among the nervous tissues do not reach to such depths of sheer nervous dissolution, but sooner make impact against the solid bone. The calm in the one face is more that of habitual softness and ease of humour; the calm in the other, more that of dignified, though tolerant, self-composure. It would have been more easy, we think, to have taken liberties with Shakespeare in his presence, than to have attempted a similar thing in the presence of Goethe. The one carried himself with the air of a man often diffident of himself, and whom, therefore, a foolish or impudent stranger might very well mistake till he saw him roused; the other wore, with all his kindness and blandness, a fixed stateliness of mien and look that would have checked undue familiarity from the first. Add to all this that the face of Goethe, at least in later life, was browner and more wrinkled; his hair more dark; his eye also, as we think, nearer the black and lustrous in species, if less mysteriously vague and deep; and his person perhaps the taller and more symmetrically made.¹⁰²

One of the aims of this essay was to establish Goethe's place amongst the literary greats. Consequently, Masson de-nationalises Shakespeare and Goethe and places them both 'on a kind of central platform, in the view of all peoples and tongues', in the spirit of Goethe's concept of World Literature.¹⁰³ Interestingly, Masson introduces a third mask into his description of the cultured connoisseur's room, a mask of Dante, which like the Goethe mask would be placed to the side of the central cast of Shakespeare. In addition to this, he mentions a mask of Oliver Cromwell. Carlyle acquired a Dante mask in 1850, which he later gave to Alexander Gilchrist in 1855,¹⁰⁴

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and owned two death masks of Oliver Cromwell.¹⁰⁵ Thus Masson's description of the connoisseur's room must refer to Carlyle's house. Carlyle's Dante's death mask has not yet been traced; however, the Masson collection in the University of Edinburgh library contains a Dante death mask that is quite possibly the one that once belonged to Carlyle, although there are insufficient records to prove this.¹⁰⁶

THE OWNER OF THE MASK FROM 1907 TO 1918: PETER HUME BROWN (1849-1918)

While Carl F. Schreiber traced the ownership of Carlyle's Goethe mask as far as David Masson, he did not however know that it was bequeathed to Professor Peter Hume Brown, who was the final owner of the mask, before he left it to the University of Edinburgh in 1918. The records in the University of Edinburgh library state that the mask was given to Professor Peter Hume Brown by the Masson family, and is a new piece of information in the history of the ownership of the mask.¹⁰⁷ Hume Brown was an historian of Scottish History and had been a student of Masson's.¹⁰⁸ In 1901, he became the first person to be appointed to the Sir William Fraser Chair of Scottish History and Palaeography at the University of Edinburgh. He later succeeded Masson as Historiographer Royal for Scotland in 1908.¹⁰⁹ Further evidence that Hume Brown owned the mask can be found in the historian C. H. Firth's obituary for Hume Brown, 'In Memoriam' (1919): 'A mask of Goethe, which he inherited from Carlyle through Masson, stood for the last ten years over his bookcase, and for twenty years a life of Goethe occupied his leisure moments.'¹¹⁰

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Peter Hume Brown was a biographer of Goethe. Although he did not include references to the mask in his essay on 'Goethe on English Literature' (1900) or in his biography *The Youth of Goethe* (1913), there are indeed references to it in his two-volume biography, *The Life of Goethe* (1920) (the title was perhaps intended as an homage to Carlyle's *Life of Schiller* (1825)), which was published posthumously by his friend Viscount Richard Haldane. Haldane wrote in the preface that when Hume Brown became too ill to work on the manuscript of the *Life of Goethe*, Haldane had begun to collaborate with his own sister, and George Macdonald, a fellow of the British Academy, and Dr. Otto Schlapp, a lecturer in German Literature at the University of Edinburgh, and carried out the final stages of the work. Haldane was suitable for this task because he had travelled with Hume Brown to Weimar, Ilmenau, Jena, Wetzlar and Göttingen every year from 1898 to 1912 to collect material for the Goethe biographies, and often discussed Hume Brown's work with him.¹¹¹ In his tribute to Hume Brown in the preface, Haldane mentions the Goethe mask, stating that it had previously belonged to Carlyle and Masson, and that Hume Brown had left it in his will to the University of Edinburgh.¹¹² In addition to this, a photograph of the mask is included in the second volume of the *Life of Goethe*.¹¹³ The reference below the photograph to October 1807 indicates that in contrast to Carlyle and Masson, Viscount Haldane, and possibly also Hume Brown, knew it was a mask made during Goethe's life time, and not a death mask. The photograph is in the section on 1805 to 1809, but is not referred to in the text of the biography. Another letter in the University of Edinburgh library reveals where this information could have come from. On 17 June 1913, Wolfgang von Öttingen (1859-1943), the Director of the Goethe and Schiller Archive in the Goethe National Museum in Weimar, replied to an

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unnamed male addressee in response to an inquiry about verifying a Goethe “death mask”. The sender had enclosed a photograph of it, and therefore Öttingen was able to compare it with the masks and busts in Weimar. Öttingen's reply explained that it was not a death mask, and confirmed that it was related to Weisser's life mask of 1807, belonging to those examples that had open eyes, ears and hair, making it similar to the bust which the Goethe National Museum also possessed.¹¹⁴ Öttingen's letter refers to the exact date on which the original mask was made (13 October 1807) and its connection with Gall's visit to Weimar. It is quite possible that this information was available to the biographers of the *Life of Goethe* before its publication in 1920, but the biography is curiously silent on the event of making the mask, and only offers a brief account of Goethe's reaction to Gall's lectures in Halle in 1805.¹¹⁵ In reference to 1807, Hume Brown highlighted instead the death of Duchess Anna Amalia, Goethe's trips to Carlsbad and Jena, his acquaintance with Wilhelmina Herzlieb and Bettina Brentano, and his work on *Wilhelm Meisters Wanderjahre*.¹¹⁶

THE RECORDS IN THE UNIVERSITY OF EDINBURGH LIBRARY

In 1920, F. C. Nicholson, a librarian at the University of Edinburgh (tenure from 1919 to 1939), wrote to Thomas Carlyle's nephew, Alexander (1843-1931), enquiring about when Carlyle had acquired the Goethe mask. The University of Edinburgh library has Alexander Carlyle's reply dated 25 April 1920, which originally contained a copy of a letter from David Masson to Alexander Carlyle's wife, Mary Aitken (1848-1895), which referred to when Masson had received the mask and a

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photographed folio of Shakespeare.¹¹⁷ Alexander Carlyle could not throw any light on the date Carlyle received the mask, and suggested contacting Prof. Masson's daughters. Nicholson then wrote to Rosaline Masson (1867-1947), who replied on 28 April 1920 that she had no knowledge of when Thomas Carlyle had acquired the mask and describes having noticed a paper inside it, with the words 'Masson after me' written on it, which referred to Carlyle's desire to bequeath the mask to Masson.¹¹⁸ While the date when Carlyle received the mask has already been clarified by the publication of his letters, this archive material provides more evidence that Masson owned the mask.

Another of the University of Edinburgh library records regarding Carlyle's Goethe Mask refers to it as a life mask, made from Weisser's original, taken from Goethe's face on 13 October 1807 for Gall. However, the record incorrectly claims that Eckermann had sent it to Carlyle.¹¹⁹ This cannot be correct as Carlyle's letter to Eckermann on 31 May 1845 reveals that they had not corresponded for many years, and informed him about the mask five months after Carlyle received it, without thanking him.¹²⁰

Since Peter Hume Brown's death in 1918, knowledge of the mask's existence and origins has been passed down through the German Department at the University of Edinburgh, starting with Prof. Otto Schlapp (Chair: 1926-1929), a former student of Masson's, who helped to finish Hume Brown's biography of Goethe. Moreover, according to a letter written by Paul B. Salmon, Professor of German at the University of Edinburgh (Chair: 1970-1981), the Goethe mask was on constant display in the German Seminar room, which was in Minto House on Chambers Street in Edinburgh.¹²¹ After moving to the university library, it was put on show for the

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occasion of the national Conference of University Teachers of German, held at the University of Edinburgh in 1976, in an exhibition illustrating the musical connections between Scotland and Germany, called 'Scottish Bards and German Minstrels', prepared by Professor Andrew Barker of the German Department at the University of Edinburgh. Another event, celebrating 100 years of the French and German Departments at Edinburgh, also showcased the Goethe mask in 1994.

CONCLUSION

Despite being a reproduction, Carlyle's Goethe mask can be regarded as unique cultural object because of what it signifies, and because of its singular history, which can be traced back to Goethe. This reconstruction of the history of Carlyle's Goethe mask reveals that while the knowledge of its location has not passed smoothly through generations of Carlyle scholars, it was nevertheless not "lost", but placed under the guardianship of the German Department of the University of Edinburgh throughout the twentieth century. The new evidence in the form of letters and an obituary confirm Hume Brown's ownership of Carlyle's mask; and his biography of the life of Goethe validates it as a life mask, proving that it has been in the possession of three Scottish scholars of Goethe. Furthermore, the strong connection between Masson and Carlyle indicates that there is a high likelihood that Carlyle's untraced Dante mask is the one in the Masson collection.

Although no solid evidence points to the existence of a Goethe death mask, the idea of it is still circulating in the work of modern and contemporary writers and

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artists. For example, the American poet Linda Gregg's poem 'Goethe's Death Mask' draws attention to the disturbing bulging eyes of the mask, and reads as if it is a response to Weisser's untreated life mask; the artist Ethel Schwabacher's journal, *Hungry for Light*, refers to her painting of Goethe's death mask; Wendy Salinger's *Listen: A Memoir* describes 'the black death mask of Goethe'.¹²² In Jutta Kollwitz's chapter on 'The Last Days of Käthe Kollwitz', there is also a description of her intense reading of Goethe and her obsession with the Goethe mask that hung above her bed, which she would often run her fingers over with her eyes shut.¹²³ Ultimately, what unites many of the owners of a Goethe life mask is the desire to write about it and their passionate engagement with Goethe's works.

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¹ Michael Hertl, *Goethe in seiner Lebendmaske*, Würzburg 2008, p. 13 and p. 17. <http://library.princeton.edu/libraries/firestone/rbcs/aids/C0770/ex572.jpg> (accessed 3 January 2012). This Princeton Goethe mask is an untreated version of Weisser's life mask and is a cast of the mask at the stage before the sculptor had smoothed out the crinkled effects of the paper that covers the eyes of the live subject, and removed the markings of the head scarf covering the hair. It is incorrectly recorded as a death mask. The second mask is heavily sculpted and bears little similarity with Weisser's life mask: <http://library.princeton.edu/libraries/firestone/rbcs/aids/C0770/ex4834.jpg> (accessed 3 January 2012).

² Călin Alexandru Mihai, *Johann Peter Kaufmann und die spätklassizistische Skulptur am Weimarer Hof. Ein Beitrag zur regionalen Kunstgeschichte Thüringens*, Cluj-Napoca 2004.

³ http://digital.cjh.org/view/action/singleViewer.do?dvs=1323618633307~801&locale=en_GB&VIEWER_URL=/view/action/singleViewer.do?&DELIVERY_RULE_ID=5&frameId=1&usePid1=true&usePid2=true (accessed 3 January 2012).

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⁴<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9045866g.r=.langFR> (accessed 3 January 2012).

⁵<http://gallica.bnf.fr/ark:/12148/btv1b9045916x.r=goethe+main.langFR> (accessed 3 January 2012). These photographs were taken by the Meurisse agency.

⁶ Edouard Grenier, *Souvenirs littéraires*, Paris 1894, p. 35.

⁷ References in secondary literature on Carlyle to a Goethe death mask are in Ian Campbell, 'Carlyle's Death Mask of Goethe Rediscovered', *Carlyle Annual*, 10 (1989), 89-92 and Carl Frederick Schreiber, 'Carlyle's Goethe Mask', *Yale University Library Gazette*, 18 (1943), 26-9.

⁸ Jason Y. Hall, 'Gall's Phrenology: A Romantic Psychology', *Studies in Romanticism*, 16/3 (1977), 305-17 (308-9).

⁹ Peter-Christian Wegner, 'Franz Joseph Gall in Schleswig Holstein', in *Franz Joseph Gall 1758-1828. Studien zu Leben, Werk und Wirkung*, ed. Peter-Christian Wegner, Hildesheim 1991, pp. 1-26 (p. 1).

¹⁰ Cited in Theodor Ferdinand Kajetan Arnold, *Dr. Joseph Gall's System des Gehirn- und Schädelbaues nach den bis jetzt über seine Theorien erschienenen Schriften*, Erfurt 1805, p. 9.

¹¹ Wegner, 'Franz Joseph Gall in Schleswig Holstein', p. 1.

¹² John van Wyhe, *Phrenology and the Origins of Victorian Scientific Naturalism*, Aldershot 2004, pp. 209-12 (p. 211); Alexander Rollett, 'Aus dem Zeitalter der Phrenologie mit besonderer Beziehung auf Göthes Verkehr mit dem Phrenologen Gall', *Deutsche Revue*, 7/2 (1882), 360-80 (374). [In contrast, Hertl maintains that Gall's tour ended in Paris in November 1807, p. 27.]

¹³ Van Wyhe reports that Gall was in Halle in 1805 from 7 to 28 July, in Weimar, 28-29 July, in Jena from 1-6 August, in Weimar from 6-18 August, in Göttingen, 22-31 August. Goethe attended lectures in Halle and Jena, p. 209.

¹⁴ A. Rollett, *Deutsche Revue*, 7/2 (1882), 361-2.

¹⁵ Henrik Steffens, *Was ich erlebte*, ed. W. A. Koch, Munich 1956, p. 230-1.

¹⁶ Hans Wahl, *Goethe im Bildnis*, Leipzig 1936, p. 34; Herbert Ullrich, *Schädelsschicksale historischer Persönlichkeiten*, Munich 2004; Hertl, p. 121-6.

¹⁷ Steffens, p. 232.

¹⁸ *Goethe's Gespräche. Eine Sammlung zeitgenössischer Berichte aus seinem Umgang*, eds Flodoard von Biedermann and Wolfgang Herwig, 5 vols, Zürich 1965-87, II: 1805-1817, p. 25.

¹⁹ Steffens, p. 233.

²⁰ A. Rollett, *Deutsche Revue*, 7/2 (1882), 369.

²¹ A. Rollett, *Deutsche Revue*, 7/2 (1882), 368.

²² Goethe, 'Tag-und Jahreshefte', *Werke*, Munich 1976, X, p. 474.

²³ A. Rollett, *Deutsche Revue*, 7/2 (1882), 369.

²⁴ A. Rollett, *Deutsche Revue*, 7/2 (1882), 370 and Max Neuburger, 'Briefe Galls an Andreas und Nannette Streicher. Mit 9 Figuren', *Archiv für Geschichte der Medizin*, 10 (1964), 3-70 (10).

²⁵ Paul Julius Möbius, *Ausgewählte Werke*, Leipzig 1903, III, p. 225. A. Rollett wrongly states that Gall and Goethe only met in 1805 (374). Goethe's and Riemer's diary entries confirm that this is incorrect.

²⁶ A. Rollett, *Deutsche Revue*, 7/2 (1882), 375 and Neuburger, p. 66.

²⁷ Goethe, WA, I/27, p. 373.

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²⁸ Cited in A. Rollett, *Deutsche Revue*, 7/2 (1882), 370 and Neuburger, p. 13.

²⁹ A. Rollett, *Deutsche Revue*, 7/2 (1882), 376 and Silke Heckenbücker, *Prometheus, Apollo, Zeus/Jupiter – Goethe-Bilder von 1773 bis 1885*, Frankfurt a.M. 2008, p. 134.

³⁰ A. Rollett, *Deutsche Revue*, 7/2 (1882), 376-7 and Neuburger, p. 47.

³¹ 'Tausend Dank für die herrliche Büste von dem großen Goethe [...]. Als ich das Glück hatte, Goethe persönlich in Weimar kennen zu lernen, schien mir sein Kopf größer als nun die Büste ist [...]. Ebenso fiel mir damahls die seltene große länglicht, eine umgekehrte Pyramide vorstellende Erhabenheit auf dem oberen mittleren Theile der Stirne sehr auf. Auch diese Erhabenheit erscheint jetzt auf der Büste in verkleinertem Maßstabe [...]. Über die Seitentheile oder den Schläfen kann ich nicht urtheilen – aber ich habe diese Stellen breiter vermuthet.' *Goethe Begegnungen und Gespräche*, ed. Renate Grumbach, Berlin 1999, VI: 1806-1808, p. 357 and Neuburger, p. 66.

³² Neuburger, p. 66 and Hertl, pp. 11-12.

³³ Heckenbücker, p. 134. Heckenbücker's source is Möbius, *Ausgewählte Werke*, III, p. 235.

³⁴ Friedrich de la Motte Fouqué, *Goethe und Einer seiner Bewunderer*, Berlin 1840, p. 22, and cited also in Emil Schaeffer, *Goethe, seine äußere Erscheinung*, Leipzig 1914, p. 22.

³⁵ There are diverse opinions in the older research about when the mask was made: 16 October 1807 in Wahl, p. 33; 23 October 1807 in Schaeffer, p. 57; 23 October 1808 in Rudolf Karl Goldschmit-Jentner, *Goethe. Eine Bildbiographie*, Munich 1958, p. 89.

³⁶ Harald Wentzlaff-Eggebert, *Weimars Mann in Leipzig: Johann Georg Keil (1781-1857) und sein Anteil am kulturellen Leben der Epoche*, Heidelberg 2009, p. 44 and Mihai, p. 50.

³⁷ Mihai, p. 50.

³⁸ Mihai, pp. 49-50.

³⁹ Ludwig Klauer was the son of Weisser's predecessor, the court sculptor Martin Gottlieb Klauer. Mihai points out that for a long time Schiller's death mask was wrongly thought to be the work of Martin Gottlieb Klauer. Mihai, p. 50 and p. 94.

⁴⁰ Robert Keil, 'Aus den Tagebüchern Riemers, des vertrauten Freundes von Goethe', *Deutsche Revue*, 11/1 (1886), 59-67 (62).

⁴¹ Hertl, p. 10.

⁴² Mihai, p. 50.

⁴³ Mihai, p. 50; Ernst Schulte-Strathaus, (ed.), *Die Bildnisse Goethes*, Munich 1910, p. 166-7; Wahl, p. 52.

⁴⁴ *Goethe's Gespräche*, II, p. 768, Nr. 3676 (also cited in Hertl, pp. 9-10).

⁴⁵ Wahl, p. 52.

⁴⁶ Mihai, p. 95 and Hermann Rollett, *Die Goethe Bildnisse. Biographisch-kunstgeschichtlich dargestellt*, Vienna 1883, p. 130.

⁴⁷ Mihai states that the plaster hand of Goethe is dated after 1820 and many reproductions of it were made. Mihai, p. 95, pp. 191-3 and p. 277.

⁴⁸ Mihai, p. 87.

⁴⁹ Schulte-Strathaus, p. 89 and Mihai, p. 50.

⁵⁰ Keil, *Deutsche Revue*, 11/1, 66.

⁵¹ Keil, *Deutsche Revue*, 11/1, 66.

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- ⁵² Goethe, WA, III/3, p. 285.
- ⁵³ Goethe, WA, III/3, pp. 285-7.
- ⁵⁴ Goethe, WA, III/3, p. 285.
- ⁵⁵ Goldschmit-Jentner, p. 89 and Keil, *Deutsche Revue*, 11/1, 67.
- ⁵⁶ Adolf Stahr, *Weimar und Jena*, 2 vols, Oldenburg 1852, I, p. 446.
- ⁵⁷ Stahr, p. 445.
- ⁵⁸ Hertl, p. 13 and pp. 19-20.
- ⁵⁹ Hertl, pp. 19-20.
- ⁶⁰ Hertl, p. 19.
- ⁶¹ Hertl, p. 13 and pp. 19-21.
- ⁶² Hertl, p. 21.
- ⁶³ Hertl, p. 13.
- ⁶⁴ Keil, 'Aus den Tagebüchern Riemers, des vertrauten Freundes von Goethe', *Deutsche Revue*, 12/1, 11-20 (14), (also cited in Schulte-Strathaus, p. 47). Mihai states that Weisser presented the Goethe bust in Berlin in 1807, p. 52.
- ⁶⁵ Mihai, p. 50.
- ⁶⁶ H. Rollett, p. 132.
- ⁶⁷ H. Rollett, p. 132.
- ⁶⁸ Mihai's book contains a comprehensive list of the Goethe masks owned by museums and literary societies in Weimar, Düsseldorf, Frankfurt, Dresden, Marbach and Vienna. Four Weisser masks are in Weimar. Mihai, pp. 239-49. See also Friedrich Zarncke, *Kurzgefaßtes Verzeichnis der Originalaufnahmen von Goethes Bildnis*, Leipzig 1888, p. 79 and Hertl, p. 37.
- ⁶⁹ Schulte-Strathaus, p. 47; Mihai, p. 250; H. Rollett, p. 131; Zarncke, p. 79.
- ⁷⁰ In a letter to Ludwig von Froriep, dated 15 March 1834, Keil asked for a copy of the mask to be made for him, Wentzlaff-Eggebert, p. 240. Mihai cites records for three masks in the Goethe Museum in Düsseldorf. Mihai, pp. 241-3.
- ⁷¹ Carl Gustav Carus, *Neuer Atlas der Cranioskopie enthaltend dreissig Tafeln Abbildungen merkwürdiger Todtenmasken und Schädel*, Leipzig 1864. Carus, Tafel 1. See also Hertl, p. 87 and H. Rollett, p. 132.
- ⁷² Carus, Tafel XI.
- ⁷³ Carl Gustav Carus, *Symbolik der menschlichen Gestalt*, 2nd edn, Leipzig 1858, p. 173.
- ⁷⁴ Thomas Carlyle, *Wilhelm Meister's Apprenticeship*, 3 vols, Edinburgh 1824. See *Correspondence between Goethe and Carlyle*, ed. Charles Eliot Norton, London 1887, p. vii.
- ⁷⁵ Thomas Carlyle, *The Life of Friedrich Schiller*, London 1825. See *Carlyle's Unfinished History of German Literature*, ed. Hill Shine, Lexington 1951, p. xxiii.
- ⁷⁶ Thomas Carlyle, *Leben Schillers aus dem Englischen; eingeleitet durch Goethe*, Frankfurt a.M. 1830, p. xvii.
- ⁷⁷ Ferdinand Freiligrath, *Gedichte*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1838; Philipp Kaufmann, *Gedichte von Robert Burns*, Stuttgart and Tübingen 1839; Wilhelm Gerhard, *Robert Burn's Gedichte*, Leipzig 1840; Heinrich Julius Heintze, *Lieder und Balladen* Braunschweig 1840.
- ⁷⁸ Norton, p. xii.

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⁸⁰ Johann Peter Eckermann, *Gespräche mit Goethe in den letzten Jahren seines Lebens: 1823-1832*, Leipzig 1836, II, p. 33.

⁸¹ Robert Verhoogt, *Art in Reproduction. Nineteenth-Century Prints after Lawrence Alma-Tadema, Jozef Israëls and Ary Scheffer*, Amsterdam 2007, p. 303.

⁸² TC to Jane Stirling, Carlyle Letters Online (22 December 1844). <http://carlyleletters.org> (accessed 18. September 2011).

⁸³ Edward Morris, 'Scheffer and his English Circle', *Oud Holland*, 99/4 (1985), 294-310 (296-7) and Eva Gesine Baur, *Chopin oder die Sehnsucht. Eine Biographie*, Munich 2009, p. 520.

⁸⁴ TC to Lady Harriet Baring, Carlyle Letters Online (22 December 1844). <http://carlyleletters.org> (accessed 18. September 2011).

⁸⁵ Thomas Carlyle, 'Goethe', in *Critical and Miscellaneous*, Boston 1855, pp. 73-94 (p. 76).

⁸⁶ Anon, 'Ary Scheffer', *The Churchman's Monthly Magazine*, 5 (1858), 535-41 (537).

⁸⁷ Anon, 'Ary Scheffer', *The Churchman's Monthly Magazine*, 5 (1858), 537.

⁸⁸ Edouard Grenier, *Literary Reminiscences*, tr. Mrs Abel Ram, London 1899, p. 44.

⁸⁹ Edouard Grenier, *Le Renard par Goethe*, Paris 1858.

⁹⁰ TC to Ary Scheffer, Carlyle Letters Online (23 December 1844). <http://carlyleletters.org> (accessed 18. September 2011). This letter is also cited in full in Schreiber, pp. 26-7.

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⁹³ Thomas Carlyle, *Critical and Miscellaneous Essays*, 'Goethe's Works', pp. 345-65 (p. 363).

⁹⁴ Hertl, p. 13.

⁹⁵ Schreiber, p. 27. See Sotheby & Co., *Catalogue of Printed Books, Autograph Letters, Literary Manuscripts, Oil Paintings, Drawings and Engravings, Works of Art, China, Furniture, &c. Formerly the Property of Thomas Carlyle 1795-1881, and Now Sold by Order of the Executors of His Nephew, Alexander Carlyle*, London 1932 and 'Pictures in the House at Carlyle's Death, Compiled Chiefly from Notes Made by Mrs Allingham in 1881' in *Carlyle's Home Catalogue*, 7th edn, London 1911, p. 56.

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¹⁰² Masson, *BQR*, 16 (1852), 514.

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